

Message Text

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TAGS: NATO, PFOR, CSCE, GW, GE

SUBJ: THE GDR AND CSCE RESULTS

AT THE SEPTEMBER 2 POLADS MEETING, THE FRG REP (CITRON) CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS, PREPARED BY THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN EAST BERLIN, OF GDR REACTIONS TO THE RESULTS OF CSCE.

BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: THE GDR AND THE FINAL PHASE OF CSCE

1. ONE DAY AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT BY SED PARTY CHIEF ERICH HONEKER, WHO HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO DO SO BY THE POLITBUREAU OF THE SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, THE GDR PUBLIC WAS INFORMED OF THE FULL TEXT OF THE ACT BY PUBLICATIONS IN THE WEEKEND EDITIONS OF THE DAILY PAPER "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" - WHICH COVERS THE WHOLE OF THE GDR - AND THE "BERLINER ZEITUNG". OTHER NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED LONG EXTRACTS FROM THE DOCUMENTS. "NEUE ZEIT", THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE GDR, LEFT OUT SOME OF THE SUB-TITLES BUT DID NOT DO SO IN A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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TENDENCIOUS MANNER. WE THEREFORE CONSIDER THAT THE GDR HAS ADEQUATELY MET ITS OBLIGATION UNDER THE FINAL ACT TO MAKE IT KNOWN "AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE".

2. IT WILL HAVE TO BE SEEN TO WHAT EXTENT THE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER WILL DEAL WITH THE CONFERENCE RESULTS. ACCORDING TO ARTICLE 51 OF THE GDR CONSTITUTION, CONFIRMATION BY THE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY BECAUSE THE FINAL ACT DOES NOT AFFECT EXISTING TREATIES (PRINCIPLE NO. X) WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER AT AN EARLIER DATE.

3. THE WAY IN WHICH THE FINAL PHASE OF CSCE WAS DEALT WITH BY THE GDR'S MASS MEDIA - WHOSE COVERAGE EXCEEDED THAT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN TERMS OF VOLUME - LEAVES NO DOUBT AS TO THE ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE RESULT WHICH WILL BE IN THE FOREGROUND FOR THE GDR, AS WELL BE THE CASE WITH HER SOCIALIST ALLIES. THE SPEECHES MADE BY KEKKONEN, WALDHEIM, BREZHNEV AND HONECKER WERE REPRODUCED IN FULL. ALL THE OTHER SPEECHES APPEARED IN THE FORM OF EXTRACTS, WHICH MAY BE EXPLAINED BY LACK OF SPACE.

4. "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND", WHICH PUBLISHED THE MOST EXHAUSTIVE REPORTS, SUPPRESSED ESPECIALLY THOSE PARTS OF THE SPEECHES MADE BY WESTERN STATESMEN WHICH REPRESENT THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE IN WESTERN EYES. THIS LINE HAD BEEN FOLLOWED ALL ALONG THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. AS FAR AS THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES IS CONCERNED, THIS CONCERNS ESPECIALLY THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS (VII), THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES (V), BUT ALSO THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION (VIII) AND THE PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS (PRINCIPLE NO. I). THE OMISSIONS ALSO RELATE TO THE STATEMENTS OF WESTERN STATESMEN ON BERLIN AND THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF BASKET III, PARTICULARLY COOPERATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD AND IN INFORMATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SPEECHES OF EASTERN HEADS OF DELEGATION ARE REPRODUCED IN THOSE PARTS WHERE THEY DEAL WITH THE INVOL-

ABILITY OF FRONTIERS (PRINCIPLE NO. III), TERRITORIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTEGRITY (IV) AND NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES (VI) AS WELL AS WITH QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND CULTURAL COOPERATION AT THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL IN BASKET III.

5. AS A RESULT OF THE GDR'S EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL SITUATION, HONECKER'S SPEECH AS WELL AS THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHER EASTERN SPEAKERS MADE IT PARTICULARLY CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE STATUS QUO IS REGARDED AS THE DOMINATING CONDITION FOR ALL FORMS OF EAST-WEST-COOPERATION HONECKER EMPHASIZES THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS FOR THE GDR AS A "SOCIALIST STATE IN THE

HEARTLAND OF EUROPE ON THE BORDER OF THE MOST POWERFUL ALLIANCE SYSTEMS OF OUR TIME". HE CLAIMS THAT HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE HAD SHOWN THAT THE SECURITY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES WAS "ESSENTIALLY THE SECURITY OF THEIR FRONTIERS". SECURITY - THUS DEFINED - IS THEREFORE THE "BASIC CONDITION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EQUITABLE AND MUTUALLY PROFITABLE COOPERATION".

6. BY REFERRING TO THE BILATERAL TREATIES SIGNED BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WITH THE GDR AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN STATES, HONECKER TRIES TO MOVE THE FINAL ACT INTO THE VICINITY OF A MULTILATERAL PEACE SETTLEMENT. THIS CORRESPONDS TO THE LINE SO FAR ADOPTED BY THE EAST - THE HELSINKI SUMMIT AS THE "FINAL SEAL" BEING PUT ON THE TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

7. ALTHOUGH THE GDR, DURING THE HELSINKI SUMMIT AND IN ITS MASS MEDIA, GAVE ITS OWN INTERPRETATION OF POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS, IT REFRAINED FROM USING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE POLEMIC STATEMENTS ABOUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT ON 2 AUGUST PASSED WITHOUT THE USUAL ATTACKS, PROBABLY BECAUSE - ACCORDING TO THE GDR'S INTERPRETATION - THE CSCE FINAL ACT PREVAILS OVER THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT.

8. AMONG THE TOTAL OF 21 MEETINGS OF MR. HONECKER DURING THE SUMMIT, 14 WERE MEETINGS WITH WESTERN HEADS OF STATE OR OF GOVERNMENT. THE GDR HAS SUCCESSFULLY EXPLOITED THE HELSINKI SUMMIT IN ORDER TO INTRODUCE HERSELF TO THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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WESTERN STATES AT THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL.

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